DRESSING THE PART:
TEXTILES AS PROPAGANDA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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DRESSING THE PART: TEXTILES AS PROPAGANDA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

Kate Dimitrova, Margaret Goehring (eds.)

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CHAPTER 3

Orthodox Liturgical Textiles and Clerical Self-Referentiality*

Warren T. Woodfin

Introduction

In more than a dozen museums and church treasuries worldwide, one can encounter examples of a remarkable series of textiles with the motif of Christ as high priest.[1] The majority of these heavy fabrics of gold thread and silk have a design of roundels in which Christ is shown at half length, making a gesture of blessing with both hands (Fig. 1). The figure of Christ appears dressed in the vestments of an Orthodox patriarch: the domical miter, the short-sleeved outer tunic, or *sakkos*, and the broad episcopal stole, the *omophorion*. Although older publications have attributed textiles of this type variously to Greece, Russia, or Armenia, more recent scholarship has conclusively demonstrated these and similar liturgical textiles were woven in the Turkish textile workshops of Bursa and Constantinople in the early Ottoman period.[2] While no comprehensive study has yet been made of the textiles with Christian motifs produced in the Ottoman Empire, certain parameters are clear. Accounts of Western ambassadors in early Ottoman Bursa establish the export of textiles from that center as early as 1397.[3] While it seems doubtful that textiles with Christian motifs would have been part of that production, evidence suggests that they were already being woven by the late fifteenth century.[4] By the mid-sixteenth century, records from L'viv (Leopolis) attest that Ottoman merchants there were retailing textiles with motifs of crosses.[5] The popularity of such fabrics in the Orthodox Christian market is attested by their wide distribution in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, from Greece to Russia, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[6] As intact examples prove, these textiles were made into vestments of similar form to those worn by Christ in the woven images. Members of the clergy, wearing vestments that showed Christ vested in the same garments as they wore, would have blessed their congregations using gestures like the ones Christ is shown making. Iconography, dress, and gesture blend to present the clergy who wore these textiles as images of Christ, and Christ, in turn, is presented as the paradigmatic high priest.[7]

The self-referentiality of these liturgical textiles represents the culmination of a long development in Byzantine ecclesiastical art over the course of the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries. Through a dialogue between painted representations of liturgical vestments and the actual vestments worn by the clergy, a network of visual cross-references was established that reinforced the idea that the clergy were not merely representatives, but *representations* of Christ. I have argued this point in fuller form elsewhere, but it is worth reprising here.[8] The mimetic association of the clergy to Christ is the product of simultaneous developments in several different media: woven textiles and embroideries, wall painting, and the rites of the liturgy itself. One critical component of the background for this kind of mirroring between clergy and Christ is the transformation of Byzantine liturgical dress from a fairly simple, three-tiered system, to a much more complex and hierarchical one. Despite the lack of surviving Byzantine vestments predating the twelfth century, one can trace the system of liturgical vesture from occasional mentions in homilies, canon law, mystagogical treatises, and – by the late Byzantine period – in books of liturgical directions, or *diataxeis*. The most important and

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Fig. 1 Ottoman Textile: Christ as High Priest. Silk and metal-wrapped threads, lampas weave, sixteenth–seventeenth centuries. Byzantine Collection, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., No. 1952.10.

concentrated body of evidence is, of course, the representation of vestments in works of art.[9] From their earliest developments until the eleventh century, Byzantine liturgical vestments distinguished their wearer according to order, that is, indicating whether he was a deacon, priest, or bishop. Despite the differentiation of various episcopal sees by rank, the patriarchs of the great sees of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem would have dressed for the liturgy in garments of exactly the same form as any other bishop.[10] Beginning in the eleventh century, however, new insignia were introduced at the highest levels of the hierarchy that helped to distinguish patriarchs, metropolitans, and archbishops from bishops of lower rank. Among these new additions were the *polystavrion phelonion* (or simply, *polystavrion*) – that is, a *phelonion*, or chasuble, decorated with a pattern of many crosses – and the *sakkos*, a garment similar in form to the Western medieval dalmatic, but reserved for the use of patriarchs and other archbishops of particularly exalted rank.[11] Like the *polystavrion*, the *sakkos* was often decorated with multiple crosses (Fig. 2), but it was meant to be worn only on the greatest feasts of the church calendar.[12] Furthermore, unlike the *polystavrion*

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Fig. 2 Sakkos of Metropolitan Aleksei. Silk textile with gold embroidery and gilt-metal appliqués, fourteenth century. Kremlin Armory, Moscow.

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Fig. 3 Major Sakkos of Metropolitan Photios. Silk textile with gold and silk embroidery, pearl stringing, and gilt-metal appliqués, *c.* 1414-17. Kremlin Armory, Moscow.

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phelonion, which simply represents the elaboration of a vestment with a long history of ecclesiastical use, the *sakkos* is a garment that seems to be modeled on the ceremonial tunic (also called a *sakkos*) of the emperor himself.[13] Either of these vestments would be worn along with the *omophorion*, the broad stole decorated with crosses, which had become the distinctive mark of Byzantine bishops by the fifth or sixth century.[14] Other insignia, such as the *epimanikia*, or liturgical cuffs, and the *epigonation*, an embroidered lozenge of fabric worn hanging from the belt, were also introduced in this period as the special regalia of bishops and archbishops.[15] As insignia originally exclusive to patriarchs and archbishops were adopted by lower ranks of clergy, the highest prelates in turn donned still more distinguishing vestments. This enlargement of the repertoire of Orthodox liturgical vestments had two effects. One was to introduce visible distinctions into the hierarchy of ecclesiastics comparable, in some respects, to the established distinctions among the ranks of courtiers surrounding the emperor. The second was to allow for a more complex series of visual cross-references between the earthly church and the heavenly realm than had previously been possible, particularly through the introduction of embroidered imagery onto the vestments.

The idea that the bishop or priest ministers *in persona Christi* is a widespread theme in Greek liturgical theology. It is found already in nascent form in the writings of Ignatius of Antioch at the beginning of the second century, but it was only in the late Byzantine period that the vestments of the clergy began to make this function of representing Christ concrete by the addition of embroidered images of Christ and scenes from his life.[16] By wearing Christ's image, both in the form of his iconic portrait and as the pictorial synopsis of the Gospels, the clergy assumed the role not just of representatives of Christ, but literally representations of him. Longstanding Byzantine tradition – inherited from Roman practice – made wearing the image of one's superior a sign of fealty and delegated authority, and the use of Christ's likeness on vestments would have been understood as a sign of the clergy's allegiance to him.[17] The use of embroidered imagery, though, goes further than simply establishing a chain of command. Widespread mystagogical interpretations of the liturgy mapped each action of the ministers onto an event from the Gospels, making the liturgy itself a symbolic re-enactment of the life of Christ.[18] In this context, the sequence of narrative images covering a vestment such as the Major Sakkos of Photios, dating between 1414–17, expressed the wearer's role as the living symbol of Christ (Fig. 3).[19] Such cycles of Christological imagery appear on a large number of the surviving vestments and at various scales, from the relatively large format of the *sakkoi* to the compressed scope of roundels on stoles. Evidence that Byzantine viewers saw these scenes as symbols of the clergy's christomimetic role (whether or not they were fully visible by the laity) is that they are absent from vestments associated with deacons, who symbolically represent not Christ, but the angels.[20]

Contemporaneous developments in wall painting complemented the Christomimesis of the clergy expressed by their embroidered liturgical vestments. Frescoes of the *melismos*, or fraction, show bishop-saints presiding at an altar on which Christ himself appears as the Eucharistic bread. Such images increasingly blurred the line between heavenly and earthly liturgies, sacramental and visible realities.[21] The theme of the Communion of the Apostles – introduced into monumental painting in the eleventh century – presented not the Last Supper as the moment of the institution of the Eucharist, but Christ as liturgical celebrant assisted by angels vested as deacons with the Apostles taking the role of communicating presbyters. From the early fourteenth century, depictions of the Communion of the Apostles begin to depict Christ standing at the altar dressed in the *sakkos* and *omophorion*; that is, vested as a Byzantine patriarch. The earliest examples are found at St Nicholas Orphanos in Thessaloniki and at St Nikita in Čučer, both dating to the second decade

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Fig. 4 Communion of the Apostles. Fresco *c.* 1310–20. Church of St Nicholas Orphanos, Thessaloniki.

of the fourteenth century (Fig. 4).[22] This development in the iconography of Christ actually represents a momentous change. With the obvious exceptions for Christ's nudity in the Baptism and Crucifixion, virtually all earlier Byzantine images of the adult Christ show him in antique dress, even when presiding at the altar (Fig. 5). Since the tunic and himation were long obsolete in Byzantium, such ancient costume was, in a sense, semantically 'neutral', without a place in the sartorial hierarchies of either the church or the imperial court. The depictions of Christ as patriarch for the first time represent him in the garments worn by contemporary personages, specifically, members of the Byzantine episcopacy. In both frescoes from Thessaloniki and Čučer, Christ the patriarch appears alongside angels dressed as deacons who assist him at the altar. Such angel-deacons appear in earlier representations of the Communion of the Apostles, as at St Sophia in Kiev and St Sophia in Ohrid, both dating to the eleventh century.[23] In the Palaiologan period, painted images of the liturgy show not only angel-deacons, but angel-priests as well. The frescoes of the Church of the Peribleptos at Mistra depict a Great Entrance procession enacted by angels vested both as priests and as deacons (Fig. 6). As celebrant of this 'Celestial Liturgy' (the title usually given to this iconography by art historians), Christ stands at the painted altar in the role and costume of the patriarch, while angel-priests process towards him carrying veiled chalices, and angel-deacons carry veiled patens balanced on their heads.[24] This unusual posture of the angel-deacons, in fact, precisely reflects the directions of contemporaneous books of liturgical directions, or *diataxeis*.[25] The liturgy of heaven is thus presented as a near mirror image of the earthly rites enacted in the space of the church.

The juxtaposition of Christ as celebrant and angels as assisting clergy with actual clergy performing the same actions in similar vestments must have forcefully impressed on viewers the eschatological dimensions of the liturgy. In the words of Archbishop Symeon of Thessaloniki, the earthly and heavenly liturgies were identical, only that the heavenly one was conducted 'without veils'.[26] This mirroring, or, perhaps better, interchangeability of the earthly and heavenly actors in the liturgy articulated in monumental painting is still more strikingly expressed in an embroidered textile, the iconostasis curtain from Chilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, embroidered in 1399 (Fig. 7).[27] On this veil, Christ appears as a patriarch wearing a *sakkos* decorated with a pattern of crosses in roundels, over which he wears the bishop's stole, or *omophorion*. Saints Basil and John Chrysostom, the authors of the two principle Byzantine eucharistic liturgies, flank him; both bishops wear the

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Fig. 5 Communion of the Apostles. Fresco *c.* 1040. Church of St Sophia, Ohrid.

Fig. 6 Great Entrance with Angel Clergy Fresco, third quarter of the fourteenth century. Church of the Peribleptos, Mistra.

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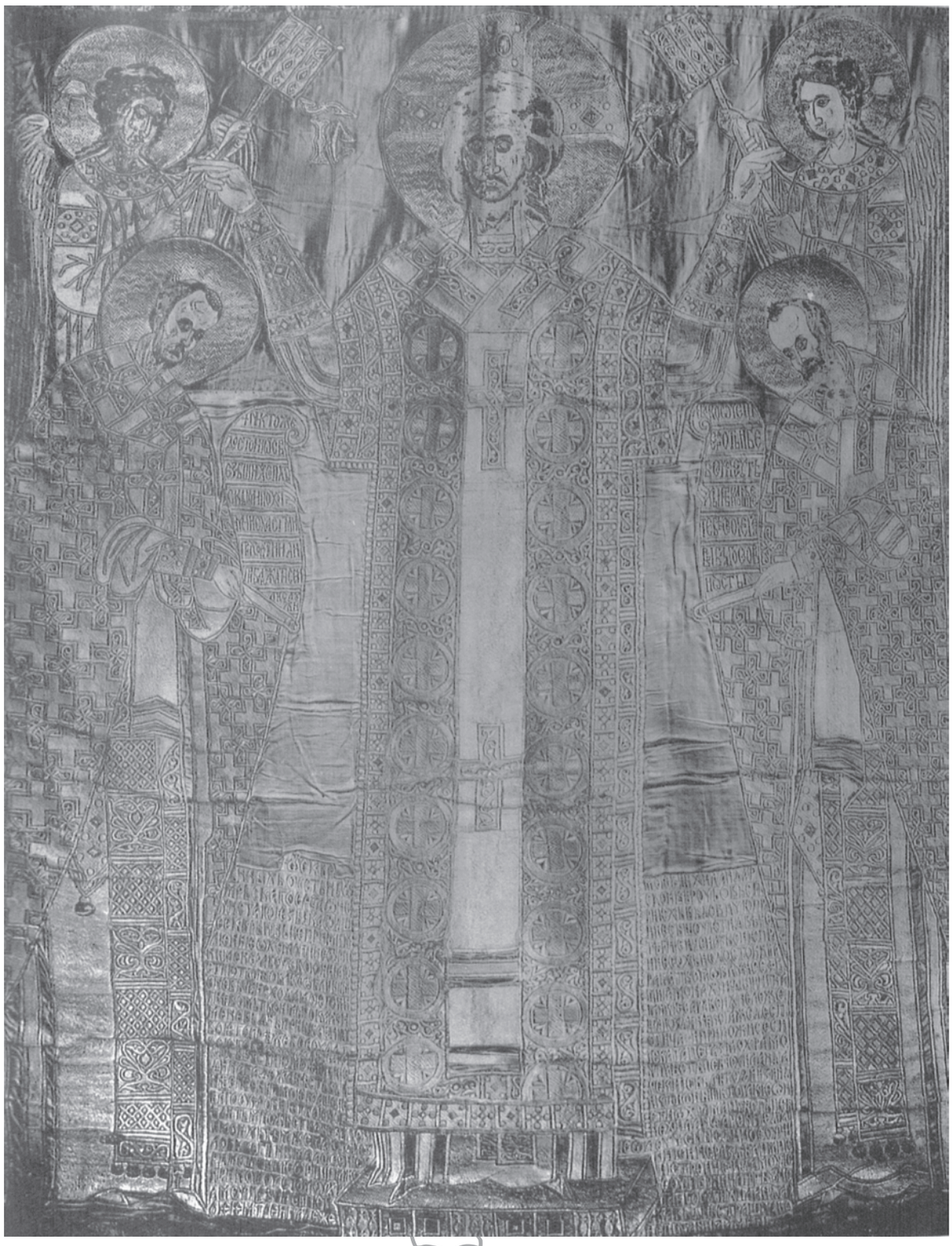

Fig. 7 Sanctuary Curtain: Christ as High Priest with Sts. John Chrysostom and Basil. Silk textile with gold and silk embroidery, 1399. Chilandar Monastery, Mount Athos.

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Fig. 8 *Epimanikion*: Communion of the Apostles. Silk textile with gold and silk embroidery, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. National Museum, Sofia, Bulgaria, No. 1793.

*polystavrion phelonio*n. Comparison with contemporaneous *diataxeis* of the patriarchal liturgy reveals that both the dress and pose of the flanking bishop saints imitate those of the concelebrating bishops who would assist the patriarch at the altar.[28] Angel-deacons, bearing liturgical fans, stand behind the principle figures. This textile would have hung within the central opening of the icon screen, shielding the altar from view. At the moment when the curtain was drawn aside – for the presentation of the bread and wine at the Great Entrance and for their distribution at the Communion – the human celebrant would be revealed standing at the altar table, exactly where the figure of Christ had been visible moments before.[29] It would hardly be possible to articulate more clearly the paradigmatic role of Christ as high priest, embodied in the figure of the actual celebrant of the liturgy. The very function of the object, the curtain shielding the sanctuary from view, evokes the veil of the Tabernacle in the Sinai desert and later in the Temple of Jerusalem.[30] The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews in turn likens this veil (*katapetasma*) to Christ's body, making an extended analogy between the rites of purification by which the Temple priest enters the tabernacle through its veil and Christ's expiation for the sins of mankind by opening a way into heaven 'through the veil, that is to say, his flesh'.[31] Even without figural imagery, the sanctuary veil was already imbued with a significant theological charge through its very function. The embroidered decoration of the Chilandar curtain transforms it further into a kind of spiritual x-ray screen, both hiding the physical altar and clergy from the view of the congregation, and simultaneously making visible the spiritual reality of the celestial liturgy in which the earthly one partakes.[32]

The embroidered image of Christ as patriarch on the Chilandar curtain finds parallels among the motifs embroidered on liturgical vestments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Fig. 8). In

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Fig. 9 Royal Deësis. Fresco, 1376/77 or 1380/81. Monastery of Markov, near Skopje.

the case of the *epimanikion*, or liturgical cuff (originally one of a pair) from Sofia, Christ is shown in the act of giving communion to the apostles while wearing pontifical vestments, just as he appears in the earliest instances of the theme in fresco painting, discussed above.[33] Here, the garments of Christ intensify the parallel between his actions and those of his earthly counterpart who would have worn such a cuff. In other cases, though, Christ is shown in patriarchal dress as an iconographic type independent of his participation in any liturgical action. The earliest of these images are found in association with the theme of the Deësis. This composition shows the intercession of the Mother of God and John the Baptist with the central figure of Christ. When other saints – archangels, apostles, bishops, and martyrs – are grouped in pairs according to their class around the central group of Christ, Mary, and John, the composition is referred to as the Great Deësis. While the Deësis and the Great Deësis variant were frequent themes in both frescoes and icon painting since the end of Iconoclasm, they began to undergo new iconographic developments toward the middle of the fourteenth century. Monumental painting in northern Greece and the Balkans began to embrace the theme of the 'Royal Deësis', in which Christ appears in imperial dress, as found at the Church of St Athanasios tou Mousaki at Kastoria (dated 1374–86) or at the Monastery of Markov near Skopje (1376–77 or 1380–81) (Fig. 9).[34] In a subtle argument, Petre Guran has noted the complementary relationship between the painted images of Christ as emperor and as high priest. In the central apse of the church at Markov Monastery, Christ presides over the Celestial Liturgy wearing the patriarchal *sakkos* and *omophorion*, while in the Royal Deësis on its north wall he is depicted in the costume of a Byzantine emperor with the *loros*, or imperial scarf, and the *stemma*, or crown. Guran argues that the former theme relates to Christ's tangible presence through the consecration and consumption of the Eucharist (the *anaphora* and Communion) while he links the theme of the Royal Deësis to the Great Entrance, in which the bread and wine have not yet become the body and blood of Christ. Specifically, the fresco evokes the eschatological theme of the Cherubikon hymn sung during the Great Entrance: '[...] that we may receive the King of all, invisibly escorted by the angelic orders'.[35] Linked to the Second Coming of Christ by writers on the Byzantine liturgy such as Symeon of Thessaloniki, the procession and its hymn evoke the presence of the eternal kingdom of Christ.[36] The two images – Christ as high priest and Christ as emperor – work in tandem, one as a mimetic parallel to the ritual of the church, the other reflecting its anagogical evocation of heavenly realities.

By the last decades of the fourteenth century, these two themes become fused into the single figure of Christ in the Deësis.[37] In an icon now in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin, Christ appears simultaneously wearing the insignia of a patriarch with those of an emperor (Fig. 10).[38] The icon shows Christ wearing the cross-patterned *sakkos* of a patriarch, along with the

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Fig. 10 Royal Deësis. Icon, attributed to Serbia, late fourteenth century. Dormition Cathedral, Moscow Kremlin.

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Fig. 11 *Epitrachelion*: Great Deësis with Christ as High Priest. Silk textile with gold and silk embroidery, fifteenth century. Chilandar Monastery, Mount Athos.

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imperial *loros*, crown, and scepter. Over the *loros*, he also wears the episcopal *omophorion*. In other words, the imperial attributes are borrowed from the 'Royal Deësis' (note that the Virgin also wears imperial costume), while the patriarchal regalia stem from a fusion of this theme with the imagery of the Communion of the Apostles and Celestial Liturgy.[39] In embroideries of the Great Deësis, on the other hand, the garments of Christ never mix imperial and ecclesiastical insignia. The late fifteenth-century priest's stole, or *epitrachelion*, from Chilandar Monastery is among a number of stoles that preserve the composition of the Great Deësis with Christ as patriarch (Fig. 11). Here, he is shown in a roundel on the neck, while the saints appear under arches running down the length of the stole. The embroideries, therefore, combine in a single composition *both* the mimetic and anagogical aspects articulated through the separate depictions of Christ as emperor and Christ as patriarch. As high priest, Christ is the model for the priest or bishop who wears the stole, while the embroideries simultaneously present his heavenly reign by surrounding him with the assembled representatives of the heavenly court. Furthermore, the portion of the stole showing Christ as high priest would have had a certain visual independence when actually worn. Oriented at a 90-degree angle with respect to the other figures on the stole, it alone would have been visible as an upright image on the neck of the wearer after he donned his *phelonion* or *sakkos*. Thus the wearer would assume a Janus-like aspect, with his own face visible from the front and the face of Christ as high priest visible from the back. The vestments thus convey the paradox that the priest is simultaneously himself and Christ.

Woven textiles with the image of Christ

At a time roughly contemporaneous with the manufacture of the stole from Chilandar Monastery, the motif of Christ as high priest passed from the medium of embroidery into that of woven textiles. The earliest surviving piece with the pattern of Christ as bishop is also among the best preserved: the silk and gold lampas-weave *sakkos* of St Niphon at the Monastery of Dionysiou on Mount Athos (Fig. 12).[40] Amid the upheavals of the Great Church of Constantinople in the decades following the Ottoman conquest, Niphon served three separate – and brief – terms as Patriarch of Constantinople. First elected in 1486, he was deposed in 1489. He was appointed to the office a second time in 1497 and again deposed the following year. He was called once more in 1502 to serve as Ecumenical Patriarch, but refused the post and eventually retired to Mount Athos until his death in 1508.[41] The creation of the *sakkos* can likely be associated with one of his two patriarchates, although it might date to before 1486, when he was serving as Metropolitan of Thessaloniki prior to his first call to the patriarchal throne. The pattern shows Christ, vested as a bishop and making a gesture of blessing, along with Greek crosses and small figures of six-winged seraphim in the interstices of the design. The surface background of the lampas weave is formed of gold filaments; the colored highlights of the design, most visible in the robes of Christ, vary by horizontal register: white, purple, silver, and green appear on the main body of the *sakkos*, while other colors including red and chartreuse appear on the sleeves and on the gores of the flaring sides of the vestment. The lack of any consistent order to the occurrence of the highlight colors suggests that these complementary pattern wefts were chosen *ad libitum* by the weavers as they worked. In addition to the somewhat erratic use of color, the consistent reversal of all the Greek inscriptions suggests that the garment may represent the first loom run of a newly designed textile.[42] Correcting for their orientation, the inscriptions are all quite legible. The crosses bear the abbreviations IC XC N K, for «Ιεσοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ» ('Jesus Christ is victorious'). In addition to the usual $\overline{\text{IC XC}}$ abbreviations for 'Jesus Christ,' on either side of

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Fig. 12 Sakkos of St. Niphon. Silk and metal-wrapped threads, lampas weave, before 1508, Monastery of Dionysiou, Mount Athos.

his head, the figure of Christ has in the cross arms of his halo the letters «ὁ ὤν» ('he who is').[43] Finally, to either side of the half-length figures is inscribed «ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεῦς» ('the great High Priest'). This inscription does not occur on any of the other surviving textiles with similar woven motifs, nor does it appear on the closest embroidered parallel, the iconostasis curtain from Chilandar Monastery. Like the figure of Christ in that embroidery, the woven figures appear bareheaded but vested in a *sticharion* with stripes and ornate cuffs, a *sakkos* with Greek crosses enclosed in roundels, and an *omophorion* also decorated with crosses. In each case, Christ blesses with both hands in the manner of an Orthodox bishop.[44]

No other exemplars of the textile of the Dionysiou *sakkos* are known to survive, but is clearly related to the much larger group of silks with the image of Christ as high priest first documented

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Fig. 13 *Phelonion* with Christ as High Priest. Silk and metal-wrapped threads, lampas weave, with embroidered yoke, dedicated 1614. Putna Monastery.

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Fig. 14 Sakkos of Patriarch Joseph. Silk and metal-wrapped threads, *taqueté*, before 1634.

in the early part of the seventeenth century. Two different vestments bear dedicatory inscriptions of the Moldavian ruler Ştefan II Tomşa from the year 7122 (1613/14). The first is found on a *phelonion* in the treasury of the Putna Monastery. The large expanse of the textile, gold with details in ivory and black colored silk, is joined to a velvet yoke, which bears the dedicatory inscription (Fig. 13).[45] The second *phelonion*, presented to the Monastery of Sucevița and now in the National Museum of History of Romania in Bucharest, consists of multiple fragments of Ottoman textiles joined together with an embroidered yoke. The textile with the image of Christ blessing appears on the back of the garment, in this case with details in ivory and light blue silk on a gold ground. The inscription names the donor as 'Io [John] Ștefan the Voevode, son of Tomșa [...] the 18th of March, 7122 [1614]'.[46] As with all the examples of the type apart from the Dionysiou *sakkos*, the motif shows Christ wearing a domical bishop's miter as well as the *sakkos* and *omophorion*.[47]

The silks in Romania clearly share a common design with the fragments in Athens, Chicago, London, Washington, and the rest. Although the state of preservation varies widely from one sample to another, they share telltale flaws such as the lack of a mark of abbreviation over the letter *nu* (for «νικᾷ»). More technically significant is a design flaw observed in the lowest register of crosses within the depicted *sakkos* worn by Christ. Regardless of the colors used in each example, these crosses consistently appear in the color of the warp threads rather than in the pattern highlight color supplied elsewhere by the complementary wefts. Despite these shared characteristics, the surviving fragments are not completely identical. The variation in the color scheme is obvious enough, as is the variation in the roundels from circular to somewhat oval, attributable to varying tension in the loom. Small details, however, change from piece to piece. The crosses between the roundels on the Dumbarton Oaks fragment, for example, are outlined in the warp color (black) and filled with gold threads, while another example in a private New York collection has crosses entirely filled in with the red color of the warp. Furthermore, the lower ends of the crosses on the Dumbarton Oaks piece are noticeably asymmetrical and jagged, a feature corrected in the New York piece and others. Similarly, the position of the capital *nu* in the inscription moves significantly from one piece to another – without ever gaining its missing abbreviation bar.[48] Even the number of weft colors varies: four are visible in the Dumbarton Oaks fragment, five in the piece at Krefeld.[49] All of these features, not to mention the proliferation of larger and smaller pieces of the fabric, suggest that the same pattern was woven over a matter of decades, with small, discrete refinements (and errors) being incorporated into the design along the way. This development contrasts with the singular, extensive experiment of the Dionysiou *sakkos*. Presumably, had its pattern been woven previously with the same error of direction in the inscriptions, the problem might easily have been remedied by simply reversing the sequence of passes.[50]

Distinct from this widespread type of Ottoman textile with Christ as high priest is the *sakkos* of Patriarch Joseph in the Kremlin Armory, Moscow (Fig. 14). The register of the royal workshops in

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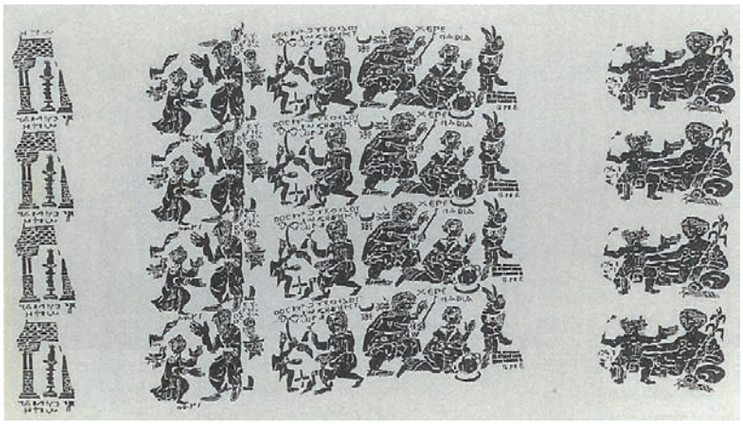

Fig. 15 Silk Textile Fragment with Scenes of the Life of the Virgin, late fourth-early fifth century. Abegg Stiftung, Bern.

Moscow mentions that the garment was brought from Constantinople in 1634, and was eventually presented by Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich to Patriarch Joseph IV (r. 1642–52).[51] In contradistinction to the earlier examples in lampas weave, the textile of the *sakkos* is what is known in Ottoman sources as a *serâser*, a form of complementary weft-faced plain weave with inner (main) warps; in modern textile terminology, this would be termed a *taqueté*.[52] The surface is dominated by metallic weft threads wrapped around silk cores of three different hues, imparting shades of white, blue, and yellow to the gold and silver. The pattern repeatedly shows Christ seated on a high-backed throne with a footstool, wearing a plain gold *sakkos* and a silver *omophorion* over his blue inner vestment (the *sticharion*, or alb). He holds an open book of the Gospels in his left hand while blessing with his right. The usual inscription, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$, appears to either side of his shoulders, while the side arms of his halo have the letters ω and ν (the « ὁ » that should accompany them is precluded by the domical miter that he wears on his head). Small cherubim, represented as heads with haloes and wings, occupy the spandrels between the multi-lobed arches enclosing the enthroned Christ. Reincorporated into the design over a century after the manufacture of the Dionysiou *sakkos* with its seraphim, these cherubim emphasize the heavenly, cosmic nature of Christ's high priesthood.

Self-referentiality and repetition

As established at the outset of this essay, the iconography of these textiles sets up a mimetic relationship between the represented Christ and the clergy who wear his image. Hand-in-hand with the self-referentiality of the motif of Christ as high priest – or, to speak more precisely, the self-referentiality of the clergy who wear such images – is the self-sufficiency of vestments made from textiles with this pattern. The earlier, embroidered liturgical vestments also present the clergy as icons of Christ, but they do so by triangulation: the clergy wear vestments with images of Christ and his life, images paralleled in the frescoes and mosaics of the church interior. These same frescoes at times show Christ himself dressed as a bishop (see Fig. 4). At other times the juxtaposition with other images identifies the minister as a stand-in for Christ, as was the case with the Chilandar iconostasis curtain (see Fig. 7). These links are strong, but, to work, they require the presence of the vested clergy in the image-saturated context of a

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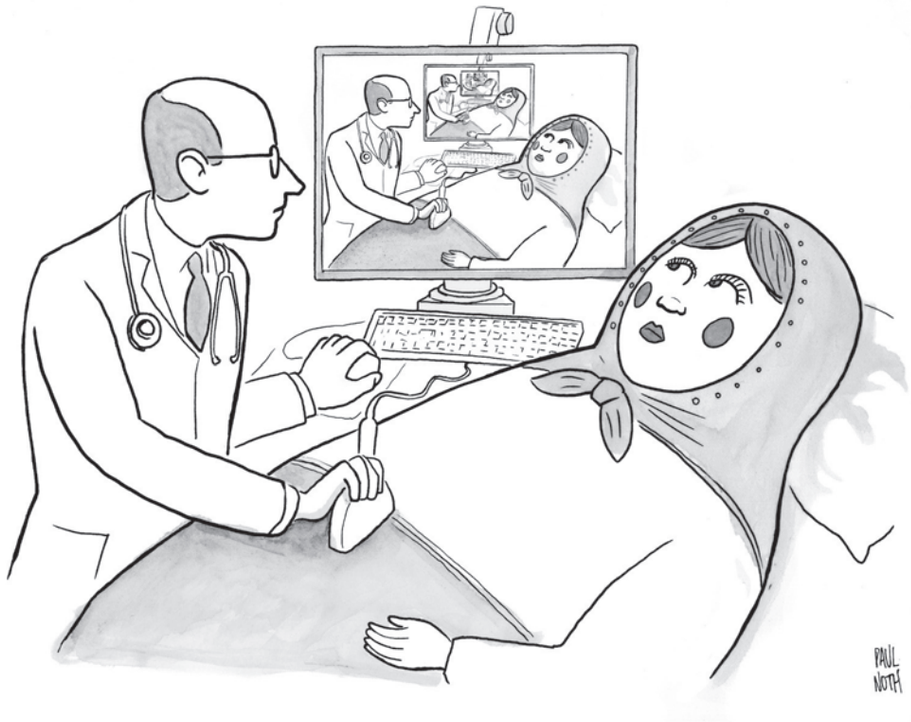

Fig. 16 Untitled Cartoon by Paul Noth. *The New Yorker,* 4 October 2010. © Paul Noth/ The New Yorker Collection/ www.cartoonbank.com

Byzantine church. The post-Byzantine textiles with the woven motif of Christ as high priest, on the other hand, need only to be worn for their meaning to be, as it were, 'activated'. The vestments are thus self-sufficient, containing within the single juxtaposition of human wearer and woven image the connections made earlier through a whole web of cross-references among textiles, painted images, and the human celebrants of the liturgy. This self-sufficiency of the woven images in part explains their most salient and – from the point of view of the theology of icons – most peculiar characteristic, their repetitive pattern.

Henry Maguire has called attention to the repetitive images of holy figures on textiles worn by the laity in the early Byzantine period.[53] In the case of textiles like a sleeve band with holy warriors or even the infancy of Christ silk in the Abegg Stiftung in Bern (Fig. 15), the repetition of motifs multiplies the potency of the images for the protection of the wearer. Such use of holy images lies outside the boundaries of the proper use and function of icons as defined in the course of the Iconoclastic controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries. According to the ultimately victorious Orthodox viewpoint, icons are effective vehicles of prayer because they act as 'windows' giving access to the depicted holy figure or sacred event. The self-sufficient images on early Byzantine textiles work by channeling less precisely defined protective powers – unlike 'proper' icons, therefore, the more the images are repeated, the more spiritual forces they activate on behalf of the wearer.

The repetition of motifs is, of course, idiomatic to the medium of weaving. The transition to woven textiles from the earlier (and continued) use of gold embroidery entailed a change from individually executed figures to ones produced in multiples by a mechanical process. The Ottoman tex-

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tiles with Christian motifs nonetheless seem to function in a different way from the early Byzantine 'magical' textiles. Unlike many of the warrior-saints or abbreviated narrative scenes on the early textiles, these later figures are readily identifiable and usually labeled, even if the Greek abbreviations are at times reversed or garbled. Their function seems not to be so much magical as ideological. They are worn, after all, by clergy rather than laity, and then only within the controlled context of the liturgical rite. The essential message that the textiles convey is that the ministering clergy are living icons of Christ – a message identical to that articulated through the earlier triangulation among vestments, ritual, and painting. Again, it is the self-sufficiency of the image that sets it apart. In a sense, this was a practical benefit in the era of upheaval in the early Ottoman period, when churches were subject to sudden demolition or appropriation for Islamic use – the message of the textiles was fully portable and not dependent on a specific painted or mosaic program of images.

One might read the closing of the loop of references between Christ and the clergy as a kind of reification of their claims to represent Christ. Certainly, a particular exaltation of clerical status informed the addition of images onto vestments in the first place, and these textiles are no exception. Their extremely rich use of gold and silk threads should leave no doubt as to the ideological aspect of their meaning. There remains, however, a certain reticence; the identification of Christ with the clergy remains solely in terms of outward appearances. A cartoon by Paul Noth that appeared in *The New Yorker* of 4 October 2010 captures this paradox: we are allowed to glimpse what is hidden, but what is revealed is exactly similar in its appearance to what was already visible on the surface (Fig. 16). The nature of representation on these textiles is both chiastic and self-perpetuating. Christ is represented 'as if' a bishop, the bishop is presented 'as if' Christ, who is in turn presented 'as if' a bishop, and so on – a logical relationship that, if only coincidentally, echoes the interwoven structure of the textile into which it is incorporated.

Returning to the Chilandar sanctuary curtain, one can compare it to a later curtain with the same function that was dedicated to the Monastery of Sucevița in Moldavia in the early years of the seventeenth century (Fig. 17).[54] The curtain, measuring approximately 250 x 170 cm, shows an expanse (composed of two loom-widths of fabric) of the familiar Ottoman lampas pattern of blessing Christs in roundels, surrounded by a border with the dedicatory inscription. The Chilandar curtain, with multiple figures playing liturgical roles, has a great deal of mimetic specificity, in that one can essentially pinpoint the ritual moment depicted in the embroidery. The Sucevița curtain lacks this mimetic precision, and the substitution of multiple small motifs for the nearly life-size embroidered images of the earlier piece also renders it considerably less legible. What the Sucevița curtain gains in the exchange is the evocation of eternity through its repeating pattern. The two-dimensional repetition of the image of Christ across the curtain serves as a metaphor for the more transcendent form of repetition reflected in the iconography of the Celestial Liturgy. Just as there are many repetitions of the image, but all represent one Christ, so is each earthly liturgy part of a single, eternal act of worship. The clergy and the liturgy of the church are, in this view, multiple and endlessly repeated, yet finite, icons of the singular and eternal liturgy of heaven. The depiction of the multiple images of Christ as high priest as a veil across the opening of the sanctuary – a threshold described in numerous Byzantine liturgical commentaries as a symbol of the firmament between earth and heaven, between the physical world perceptible by the senses and the noetic realm accessible only to the intellect – makes visible precisely this sense of the eternal and infinite.

Finally, the image of Christ as high priest resonated with the changed political circumstances of the Christian community under Ottoman rule. The Patriarch of Constantinople was titular head of the Orthodox Christian *millet*, although his political position was precarious. On the one hand,

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Fig. 17 Sanctuary Curtain with Christ as High Priest. Sucevița Monastery, *c.* 1608-11.

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the image of Christ as Great High Priest, which began to be popular in icon painting from the fifteenth century, is typically inscribed with Jesus' words to Pilate at his trial: 'My kingdom is not of this world.'[55] Such a sentiment would have been completely at odds with Byzantine political ideology, which saw the emperor as at least the divinely-appointed vicegerent of Christ's kingdom. On the other hand, the image speaks to the transfer of the aspirations of the Orthodox peoples under Ottoman rule from the political to the ecclesiastical sphere and from an historical to an eschatological context. Thus they aggrandize the clergy as leaders of the Orthodox Christian population while at the same time deflating any ideological support for a political challenge to the authority of the sultan. Viewed in this light, the manufacture of such textiles in the Ottoman imperial workshops no longer seems quite so odd. From an economic and an ideological point of view, these textiles may have been useful both to the Orthodox Christian clergy who wore them and to the Muslim sultans under whose watchful eye they were produced.

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41. See O'Connor, p. 153.

42. Philo, *Works*, trans. by F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker, 10 vols (London: William Heinemann, 1929–62), V (1936), pp. 405-07. Also see Ellen Harlizius-Klück, 'Weben, Spinnen', in *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Metaphern*, ed. by Ralf Konersmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007), p. 499.

43. Compare the debate in O'Connor, pp. 147-59.

44. The somewhat corrupted Latin text is analyzed by O'Connor, pp. 37-38, and Baumgärtel-Fleischmann, 'Der Sternenmantel', pp. 120-21. For the English translation, see O'Connor, p. 38, no. 4.

45. Wendy R. Larson, 'Narrative Threads: The Pienza Cope's Embroidered Vitae and their Ritual Setting', *Studies in Iconography*, 24 (2003), pp. 139-63 (p. 157). See also Felix Thürlemann, 'Die Chormäntel des Wiener Paramentenschatzes im Gebrauch. Für eine Pragmatik der Textilkunst', in *Kleider machen Bilder. Vormoderne Strategien vestimentären Bildsinns*, ed. by David Ganz and Marius Rimmele (Emsdetten: Edition Imorde, 2012), pp. 53-66.

46. See O'Connor, p. 79.

47. For the problems concerning the visibility/non-visibility of images in general, see Paul Veyne, 'Conduct without Belief and Works of Art without Viewers', *Diogenes*, 36.1 (1988), pp. 1-22; Beat Brenk, 'Visibility and Partial Invisibility of Early Christian Images', in *Seeing the Invisible in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Papers from 'Verbal and Pictorial Imaging: Representing and Accessing Experience of the Invisible, 400–1000'* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 140-83.

48. See Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

49. O'Connor, p. 40.

50. See Erich Freiherr zu Guttenberg, *Die Regesten der Bischöfe und des Domkapitels von Bamberg* (Schöningh: Würzburg, 1963), p. 73.

51. Freiherr zu Guttenberg, p. 75.

52. Freiherr zu Guttenberg, p. 75. On the relationship at work during the mutual act of gift-giving at the meeting of Henry and Ismahel, see Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade. Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), pp. 404-08.

53. For more, see Anna Muthesius, 'The Role of Byzantine Silks in the Ottonian Empire', in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Evangelos Konstantinou (Cologne: Böhlau, 1997), pp. 301-17; Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine, Islamic and Near Eastern Silk Weaving* (London: Pindar Press, 2008), pp. 116-31. See also Woodfin, esp. pp. 43-45.

54. Ismahel gave a Greek name to his son, Argyros. According to Enzensberger, p. 143, this could indicate Ismahel's affinity to Byzantine culture.

55. As the smaller border inscription contains the peace formula *Pax Ismaheli*, it has been deduced that the mantle was only completed after Ismahel's death at the behest of the emperor. See, among others, O'Connor, p. 45. Yet as Enzensberger shows ('Bamberg und Apulien', p. 145), the use of the peace formula is not limited to dead persons in the early Middle Ages.

56. On Henry's donations of textiles, see Anna Muthesius, *Studies in Byzantine,* pp. 38-51.

57. Harlizius-Klück, 'Weben, Spinnen', p. 505.

58. See Barbara Baert, 'Touching the Hem: The Thread between Garment and Blood in the Story of the Woman with the Haemorrhage (Mark 5:24b–34parr)', in *Kleider machen Bilder*, ed. by Ganz and Rimmele, pp. 159-182.

59. Other pictorial robes whose borders were particularly charged through inscriptions or pictures include the so-called Hungarian Coronation Mantle, a former chasuble that was produced in the same workshop as the Sternenmantel and in which portraits of the two donors, King Stephen II and his wife Gisela, are placed in the central hem zone, and the so-called Coronation Mantle of Roger II, made in the Sicilian palace workshop in 1133–34 (where kufic inscriptions along the hem offer blessings to the wearer of the robe). See *The Coronation Mantle of the Hungarian Kings*, ed. by István Bardoly (Budapest: Hungarian National Museum, 2005); William Tronzo, 'The Mantle of Roger II of Sicily', in *Robes and Honor: The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. by Stewart Gordon (New York: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 241-53.

60. At a later point in time the mantle was sewn together at its front and thus changed into a chasuble, a vestment to be worn once again. This must have happened before the mid-fifteenth century when the mantle is referred to as '*casula [...] Ismahelis*' (see above, note 10).

Notes to Chapter 3

[*] The revision and expansion of this essay were undertaken as a postdoctoral member of the European Research Council-funded project, 'TEXTILE: An Iconology of the Textile in Art and Architecture', at the Kunsthistorisches Institut of the University of Zurich. I would like to thank my colleagues in the project and especially its director, Professor Tristan Weddigen, for helping me to think through some of the implications of the textile works presented here. I would also like to thank Branislav Cvetković in Jagodina, Serbia, Elisabeth Dimitrova in Skopje, Aleksei

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Barkov in Moscow, and Fr. Alexie Cojocaru of Putna Monastery in Romania for generously sharing their photographs.

1. This group, along with related Ottoman textiles bearing Christian motifs, has been the subject of two brief studies: Rudolf M. Riefstahl, 'Greek Orthodox Vestments and Ecclesiastical Fabrics', *The Art Bulletin*, 14 (1932), pp. 359-73; David Talbot Rice, 'Post-Byzantine Figured Silks', *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 46 (1951), pp. 177-81. In addition, several examples are featured and discussed as a group in Nurhan Atasoy et al., İpek: Imperial Ottoman Silks and Velvets (London: Azimuth Editions, 2001), pp. 178, 241, 243-47, 331.

2. Compare Riefstahl (note 2) in which he assumes a Greek origin for the majority of the textiles under consideration, and Adèle Coulin Weibel, *Two Thousand Years of Textiles: The Figured Textiles of Europe and the Near East* (New York: Pantheon, 1952), p. 136, cat. no. 204, which describes the fragment in Chicago as Armenian.

3. Heath Lowry, *Ottoman Bursa in Travel Accounts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 40-42, 63-64.

4. See the *sakkos* of Patriarch Niphon at Dionysiou Monastery, Mount Athos, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1508, notes 40 and 41.

5. J. M. Rogers, H. Tezcan, and S. Delibaş, *Topkapı Costumes, Embroideries, and Other Textiles* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1986), p. 29.

6. The group of similarly patterned silk and metallic thread lampas weaves (*kemha*) is represented by exemplars in Germany (Krefeld: Deutches Textilmuseum, inv. no. 05158); Greece (Athens: The Benaki Museum, inv. nos. 828 and 843 and The Byzantine & Christian Museum, Athens, inv. no. BXM 1695); Romania (Bucharest: the treasuries of Putna Monastery and Sucevița Monastery and the National Historical Museum); Russia (formerly Zolotikovo, near Tver, now presumed lost); Switzerland (the Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, inv. no. 648); the United Kingdom (the former David Talbot Rice collection, Edinburgh and The Victoria & Albert Museum, London, inv. no. 885-1899); and the United States (The Art Institute of Chicago, inv. no. 1916.378; Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, DC, inv. no. 1952.10; and in a New York private collection).

7. It is also worth noting that liturgical writings of this period refer to the bishop not as *episkopos*, the normal patristic term for the office, but as *archiereus*, 'high priest'. Already in the twelfth century, a *diataxis* of the pontifical liturgy of Hagia Sophia uses *archiereus* throughout to mean bishop. Robert F. Taft, 'The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church According to a Twelfth-Century Diataxis in Codex *British Museum Add. 34060*', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 45 (1979), pp. 279-307, (pp. 284-306).

8. Warren T. Woodfin, *The Embodied Icon: Liturgical Vestments and Sacramental Power in Byzantium* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); and 'Celestial Hierarchies and Earthly Hierarchies in the Art of the Byzantine Church', in *The Byzantine World*, ed. by Paul Stephenson (London/New York: Routledge, 2010), pp. 303-19.

9. Woodfin, *Embodied Icon*, pp. 7-20.

10. Witness Liurprand of Cremona's indignation at finding the Greek bishops uniformly wearing the *omophorion*, equivalent to the *pallium*, without the special privilege attached to it as a papal gift in the west. *Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* 62, ed. by P. Chiesa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), p. 215; Josef Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907), p. 666.

11. Braun, p. 237; Athanasios Papas, *Studien zur Geschichte der Messgewänder im byzantinischen Ritus* (Munich: Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie der Universität München, 1965), p. 755; Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, ed. by Georgios A. Rhalles and M. Potles, 6 vols (Athens: G. Chartophylakos, 1852–59), II, p. 260. The slightly later canonist Theodore Balsamon attempts to restrict the *polystaurion* to patriarchs exclusively. See Theodore Balsamon, *Responsa ad Marcum*, in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, J.-P. Migne, ed., 161 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857–66), 138: col. 989A; Balsamon, *Meditata*, in *Patrologiae...graeca,* 138: cols. 1020C, 1025D, 1028B.

12. Demetrios Chomatenos, in *Patrologiae...graeca,* 119: col. 952A.

13. Papas, p. 125. On the imperial *sakkos,* see Maria G. Parani, *Reconstructing the Reality of Images: Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography, 11th–15th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2003) pp. 23-24; Michael F. Hendy, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection IV (1081–1261)* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1999), p. 157.

14. Braun, pp. 664-66; B. Berthod, 'Le pallium, insigne des évêques d'Orient et d'Occident', *Bulletin du CIETA*, 78 (2001), pp. 14-25.

15. Nicole Thierry, 'Le costume épiscopal byzantin du IXe au XIIIe siècle d'après les peintures datées (miniatures, fresques)', *Revue des études byzantines*, 24 (1966), pp. 308-15.

16. Ignatius, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, 8.1, ed. by P. Thomas Camelot, *Ignace d'Antioche, Polycarpe de Smyrne: Lettres*, 3rd edn (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1958), p. 162.

17. Ida Malte Johansen, 'Rings, Fibulae and Buckles with Imperial Portraits and Inscriptions', *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 7 (1994), pp. 223-42; Warren T. Woodfin, 'An Officer and a Gentleman: Transformations in the Iconography of a Warrior Saint', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 60 (2006), pp. 111-43.

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18. Hans-Joachim Schulz, *Die byzantinische Liturgie: Glaubenzeugnis und Symbolgestalt*, 3rd ed. (Trier: Paulinus, 2000), pp. 155-93; René Bornert, *Les Commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1966).

19. N. A. Mayasova, *Medieval Pictorial Embroidery: Byzantium, the Balkans, Russia* (Moscow: Moscow Kremlin State Museums, 1991), pp. 44-50.

20. Marlia Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1986), pp. 150-54; Woodfin, *Embodied Icon*, p. 121.

21. On the theme of the celestial liturgy, see Christopher Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum, 1982), pp. 217-21; Schulz, pp. 175, 209-14.

22. Walter, *Art and Ritual*, p. 216.

23. Viktor N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi* (Moscow: Iskusstvo, 1960), pl. 33, 34; Richard Hamann-MacLean and Horst Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Giessen: Schmitz, 1963), II, pp. 224-25, pl. VI.

24. Suzy Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), p. 14, fig. 62.

25. Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: a History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975), pp. 206-07; Αἱ τρεῖς Λειτουργίαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Αθήναις κώδικας, ed. by Panagiotes Trempelas (Athens: Patriarchikēs Epistēmonikēs Epitropēs pros Anatheōrēsin kai Ekdosin tōn Leitourgikōn Vivliōn, 1935), p. 9; Patriarchal *Diataxis* of Gemistos the Deacon, ed. by Aleksei Dmitrievskii, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisei*, 3 vols. (Kyiv: Typofgrafiia Imp. Universiteta Sv. Vladimira, 1901; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965), II, p. 317.

26. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Contra Haereses, Patrologiae . . . graeca* 155: col. 340; R. Taft, 'The Living Icon: Touching the Transcendent in Palaiologan Iconography and Liturgy', in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture*, ed. by Sarah T. Brooks (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), p. 55.

27. Gabriel Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1939–47), pp. 76-78, pl. CLIX.

28. Patriarchal *Diataxis* of Gemistos the Deacon, ed. by Dmitrievskii, pp. 303, 310.

29. On the curtain in the sanctuary entrance: Taft, *The Great Entrance*, pp. 411-16.

30. For example, Exodus 26:31–37, 36:35–37. On the veil of the Temple, see Joan R. Branham, 'Penetrating the Sacred: Breaches and Barriers in the Jerusalem Temple', in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. by Sharon E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006), pp. 7-24 (pp. 20-22); Margaret Barker, *Temple Themes in Christian Worship* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2007), pp. 93-95.

31. Hebrews 10:20. The extended comparison with the temple rite begins at Hebrews 9:1.

32. For a reflection on the double function of the sanctuary screen, see N. Constas, 'Symeon of Thessalonike and the Theology of the Icon Screen', in *Thresholds of the Sacred: Architectural, Art Historical, Liturgical, and Theological Perspectives on Religious Screens, East and West*, ed. by Sharon E. J. Gerstel (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2006), pp. 163-83 (pp. 168-79).

33. National Museum, Sofia, inv. no. 1793; Millet, p. 62, pl. CXXIII.

34. Kastoria: Lena Grigoriadou, 'L'image de la Déésis royale dans une fresque du XIVe siècle à Kastoria', in *Actes du XIVe Congrès internationale des études byzantines*, 3 vols. (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1975), II, pp. 47-59; Stylianos Pelekanides and Manolis Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athens: Melissa, 1985), pp. 106-19, pl. 1-14; Henry Maguire, 'The Heavenly Court', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), pp. 247-58, (pp. 257-58). Markov: Cvetan Grozdanov, 'Iz ikonografije Markovog manastira', *Zograf*, 11 (1980), pp. 83-93.

35. Petre Guran, 'Les implications théologico-politiques de l'image de la "Deèsis" à Voroneț', *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, 44 (2005), pp. 39-67, (pp. 50-51).

36. Symeon of Thessaloniki, *Expositio de divino templo, Patrologiae . . . graeca* 155: col. 728D; Guran, p. 52.

37. The outlier in Guran's argument, an icon of the Deësis with Christ in patriarchal garments in the National Gallery of Art, Sofia, cannot be dated as early as the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, as published in the exhibition catalogue *Kunstschätze in bulgarischen Museen und Klöstern* (Essen: Villa Hügel, 1964), p. 158, cat. no. 262; Guran, p. 46. A more realistic attribution, dating the icon to the turn of the sixteenth century, is given in Atanas Bozhkov, *Die bulgarische Maleri. Von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen: A. Bongers, 1969), fig. 123.

38. Guran, p. 54; L. Lifshits et al., *Vizantiia, Balkany, Rus': Ikony XIII-XIV vekov* (Moscow: Gos. muzeev Moskovskogo Kremlia, 1991), p. 229, cat. no. 229.

39. The same combination appears in the frescoes of Kovalevo,

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near Novgorod, dated *c.* 1380. Guran, p. 55; Viktor Lazarev, 'Kovalevskaia rospis' i problema iuzhnoslaviankikh sviazei v russkoi zhivopisi XIV veka', *Ezhegodnik Instituta Istorii iskusstv, 1957* (Moscow: Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1958), pp. 233-78.

40. Anna Ballian in *Treasures of Mount Athos,* ed. Athanasios Karakatsanis (Thessaloniki: Ministry of Culture, Museum of Byzantine Culture, Holy Community of Mount Athos, Organization for the Cultural Capital of Europe Thessaloniki 1997, 1997), pp. 386-87, cat. no. 11.1; Atasoy et al., p. 241, cat. no. 8.

41. Manouel Gedeon, Πατριαρχικοὶ πίνακες, 2nd edn (Athens: Syllogos pros Diadosin Ofelimōn Vivliōn, 1996), pp. 368-72, 374-75; Manuel Malaxos, *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos*, ed. by I. Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1849), pp. 127-32; Nicolae Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance. Continuation de l'histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest: Institut d'études byzantines, 1935), pp. 84-85; Claude D. Cobham, Adrian Fortescue, and H. T. F. Duckworth, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 94, 103.

42. Note that the illustration in Atasoy et al., p. 241, cat. no. 8, incorrectly reverses the image so that the inscriptions read correctly, left to right.

43. This is the usual Greek substitute for the Tetragrammaton, regularly appearing in Christ's halo in post-Byzantine iconography, with reference to the Septuagint rendering of Exodus 3:14.

44. Riefstahl (p. 364) believes the symmetrical blessing gesture to be an error possibly motivated by the symmetry of the woven design, but this is clearly not the case, given parallels in embroidery and other media. A thorough study of the blessing gestures used in iconography is a desideratum.

45. Atasoy et al., pp. 244-45, no. 29; Oreste Tafrali, *Le trésor byzantin et roumain du monastère de Poutna* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1925), pp. 69-70, cat. no. 16, pls LIX-LX.

46. O. Tafrali, 'Le monastère de Suceviţa et son trésor', in Études sur l'histoire et sur l'art de Byzance. Mélanges Charles Diehl, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1930), II, pp. 207-29 (p. 214, no. 10). This *phelonion* is one of several vestments with similar inscriptions naming the same donor and date.

47. The date at which the miter became a regular part of the attire of Orthodox bishops is an open question. Its use does not seem to have become general before the eighteenth century (Braun, p. 491, with reservations as to an exact date). There is certainly evidence for some forms of head covering for bishops in the fourteenth century, but the domical form of the miter may be a later development. Guran (pp. 59, 63-65) places its differentiation from the imperial crown in the later part of the sixteenth century; the frescoes of the ecumenical councils at Tŭrnovo show the Roman pope in a Western-style, pointed miter and the four Eastern patriarchs wearing domed miters. Christopher Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1970), p. 80, fig. 37; André Grabar, *Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928), pp. 279-80, pl. XLVII.

48. The phelonion at Putna Monastery, dated by inscription to before 1614, has the N in the same position as the fragment at Dumbarton Oaks.

49. Atasoy et al., p. 331, entry under pl. 54.

50. It is, of course, also possible that a previously correct pattern was inadvertently reversed in the weaving of the Dionysiou *sakkos*, but it would be impossible to determine without such a textile coming to light.

51. Atasoy et al., pp. 246-47, cat. no. 41.

52. Atasoy et al., pl. 10, pp. 48-49, 220-22, 324.

53. Henry Maguire, 'Magic and the Christian Image', in *Byzantine Magic*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1995), pp. 51-71; and 'Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990), pp. 215-24.

54. The curtain was the donation of Simion Movilă and his wife Marghita, *c.* 1608–11. Tafrali, 'Monastère de Suceviţa', p. 215, no. 20.

55. Η βασιλεία ἡ ἐμὴ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου' (John 18:36); P. Guran, p. 42; T. Papamastorakes, 'Η μορφὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ-Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα', *Deltion tēs Christianikēs Archaiologikēs Hetaireias*, 17 (1993/94), pp. 67-76.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Eugen Denize, *Stephen the Great and His Reign* (Bucarest: The Romanian Cultural Institute Publishing House, 2004), p. 21.

2. See, for example, *Repertoriul Monumentelor şi Obiectelor de Artă din Timpul lui Ştefan cel Mare*, ed. by Mihai Berza (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Populaire Romîne, 1958); Gabriel Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1939–47); Pauline Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1967).

3. Johnstone, p. 83. For a survey of textiles associated specifically with Stephen the Great, see Berza, pp. 279-334.

4. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), I, pp. 720-21; Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and Other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1975), pp. 217-19.

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